

Greek Literature in Exile

The Books of Andronicus Callistus, 1475–1476

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Andronicus Callistus was one of the most able Greek scholars of his day. He was related to Theodore Gaza, received patronage from Palla Strozzi and Cardinal Bessarion, and taught Greek successfully in Bologna and Florence. In 1475, after he had spent about twenty years in Italy, he sold his valuable library in Milan and set out for northern Europe, where he died the following year. What follows is an attempt to understand these actions.

Callistus's decision to sell his books is puzzling because it seems to stand in contrast to the well-known grand design conceived by Bessarion for his own library just three years earlier. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Bessarion used his resources as a cardinal to gather what survived of ancient Greek literature in order to secure it for future generations. Before his death in 1472, he made careful plans to bequeath his library to the Republic of Venice, where it remains today. The bequest was an attempt to construct something of permanent value from the wreckage of the Byzantine Empire.

During the same period Callistus, Bessarion's compatriot and companion, had accumulated his own library with more difficulty, and under much less favorable conditions. An examination of the motivation behind Callistus's very different behavior will illustrate the precarious position of Byzantine Greeks in western Europe in the years after the fall of Constantinople, while throwing new light on one of the earliest attempts to disseminate ancient Greek literature in

northern Europe. It will also show Callistus's connections with two fellow Greeks: George Hermonymus, whose early career is poorly understood, and Demetrius Cantacuzenus, who is almost entirely unknown.

This article examines the period between Callistus's departure from Florence in March 1475 and his death in England in 1476, addressing three questions. First, what were the circumstances that led Callistus to sell his books in 1475? Second, what was the purpose of his subsequent journey to northern Europe? Third, is it possible to identify any Greek books that he retained from the sale of his library to accompany him on his journey?

Callistus's Career to 1475

Before these questions are addressed, a brief summary of Callistus's career before 1475 will be useful.¹ He

1 For Callistus's biography, see G. Cammelli, "Andronico Callisto," *Rinascita* 5 (1942): 104–21, 174–214; A. Perosa, "Inediti di Andronico Callisto," *Rinascimento* 4 (1953): 3–15; E. Bigi, "Andronico Callisto," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1961), 162–63; G. Avezzi, "ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΙΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ: Per l'identificazione di Andronico Callisto copista. Con alcune notizie su Giano Lascaris e la biblioteca di Giorgio Valla," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 102.3 (1989–90): 77–93; S. Martinelli Tempesta, "Per un repertorio dei copisti greci in Ambrosiana," in *Miscellanea Graecolatina*, vol. 1, ed. F. Gallo (Milan, 2013), 101–53, at 131–32. For his role in the Plato–Aristotle controversy, see J. Monfasani, "A Philosophical Text of Andronicus Callistus Misattributed to Nicholas Secundinus," in

seems to have been born in Constantinople, and he was in the city when it fell to the Ottomans in 1453.² He apparently went to Italy shortly afterward: he met Bessarion, probably in Bologna;³ copied manuscripts in collaboration with other scribes in Bessarion's entourage in the 1450s; and, by the end of the decade, had acquired the patronage of Palla Strozzi in Padua.⁴ Callistus went on to teach Greek in Bologna in the 1450s and 1460s. There, he quickly adopted as his classroom text the grammar by his relative Theodore Gaza, recently published, which was a significant

improvement on its predecessors.⁵ In Bologna, he counted Giorgio Merula among his pupils and he lectured on Aristotle, the poetry of Pindar and Theocritus, and the letters attributed to Phalaris.⁶ Callistus moved to Rome in 1466. He remained there for five years, during which time he helped edit the first printed Latin translation of Strabo's *Geography*. He may also have helped with new editions of Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights* and Pliny's *Natural History* that were in preparation in Rome at the time.⁷

Callistus was recommended by Bessarion to Lorenzo de' Medici, and by 1471 he was teaching Greek literature in Florence.⁸ Here his classroom texts included Aristotle, Homer, Demosthenes, Apollonius of Rhodes, and Pindar.⁹ It may have been in Florence that Callistus taught Giorgio Valla.¹⁰ The young

Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth, ed. A. Morrogh, F. S. Gioffredi, P. Morselli, and E. Borsook, 2 vols. (Florence, 1985), 1:395–406, reprinted in Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés* (Aldershot, 1995), no. 13.

2 Giorgio Merula, an Italian who studied under Callistus, called him "Andronicus Thessalonicensis" (see below, n. 6), and Callistus's family may have been from Thessalonica. For his presence in Constantinople in 1453, see PG 161:1131–42. There are two notices of Callistus before 1453. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 1908, has Simplicius's commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* in the hand of Joannes Argyropoulos. Callistus subscribed the commentary on fol. 213v with a statement that Argyropoulos copied this work in Padua in 1441: see A. Diller, "Three Greek Scribes Working for Bessarion: Trivizias, Callistus, Hermonimus," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 10 (1967): 403–10, at 406–7. This subscription need not mean that Callistus was in Padua in the 1440s. The second notice comes from Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 1314, copied by Callistus and dated 12 March 1449. For the contents of the manuscript, see M. Centanni, "La biblioteca di Andronico Callisto: Primo inventario di manoscritti greci," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 97, no. 3 (1984–85): 201–23, at 218. It contains the grammar of Scholarios, in 1449 more easily available in Constantinople than in the West. On the diffusion of Scholarios's grammar, see P. Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529* (Philadelphia, 2010), 12–13.

3 Bessarion wrote to Michael Apostolis: Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Καλλίστου δὲν ἄλλοτε συνέστησας ἡμῖν . . . φιλοῦμεν (L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 3 vols. [Paderborn, 1923–42], 3:483–84). This undated letter was written after the fall of Constantinople (May 1453) and before Bessarion left Bologna (23 March 1455).

4 For the manuscripts, see below, pp. 190–91. Callistus seems to have been associated with Strozzi since at least 1459: see Callistus's letter to him from Bologna (Perosa, "Inediti di Andronico Callisto," 10). That Callistus was in Padua with Strozzi in 1461 appears from three letters of that year from Francesco Filelfo to Strozzi, dated 1 January, 28 January, and 19 April (J. de Keyser, ed., *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters: Epistolarum Libri XLVIII*, 4 vols. [Alessandria, 2015], 2:804–5, 807–8, 831–33). Strozzi died in May 1462.

5 For Gaza's grammar and Callistus's role in its transmission, see Botley, *Learning Greek*, 14–25. That Callistus was related to Gaza is certain, but the nature of the relationship remains unclear.

6 He lectured on Aristotle's *Politics*, *Economics*, and *Physics* in Latin, and on the Greek text of Pindar and Pseudo-Phalaris: see his letter to Demetrius Chalcocondyles written after 13 October 1463 and before Callistus left Bologna in 1466, in J. E. Powell, "Two Letters of Andronicus Callistus to Demetrius Chalcocondyles," *BNJ* 15 (1939): 14–20, at 19–20. That Giorgio Merula studied Theocritus with Callistus in Bologna appears from his notes on Pliny's *Natural History*, in which he observes: "id quod arguit Andronicum Thessalonicensem praeceptorem nostrum. . . . Nam is quum olim Theocritum Bononiae mihi interpretaretur . . ." (cited in Centanni, "La biblioteca di Andronico Callisto," 202n.).

7 Giovanni Andrea Bussi, bishop of Aleria, acknowledges Callistus's help with the text of Strabo for the editio princeps, printed in Rome in 1469 (ISTC 1000793000; M. Miglio, ed., *Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz prototipografi romani: Giovanni Andrea Bussi* [Milan, 1978], 35). In the Roman edition of Apuleius (28 February 1469; ISTC 1000934000), Bussi says that Gaza is helping with the edition of Pliny's *Natural History* (Miglio, *Prefazioni*, 14–15, 44). In the Sweynheym-Pannartz edition of Aulus Gellius (11 April 1469; ISTC 1000118000), Bussi again acknowledges Gaza's help (Miglio, *Prefazioni*, 25, 25, 27).

8 Bessarion's Italian letter, dated 23 August 1471, is edited in Cammelli, "Andronico Callisto," 178–81. It is not certain whether Callistus taught privately or with a stipend at the *Studio*: see G. Resta, *Apollonio Rodio e gli umanisti* (Rome, 1980), 1085 n. 5.

9 For Aristotle, see Resta, *Apollonio Rodio*, 1058. For Callistus's use of Homer, Demosthenes, Pindar, and Apollonius in Bologna and Florence, see Botley, *Learning Greek*, 80–85, 93–96, 108–10.

10 That Callistus taught Giorgio Valla (ca. 1447–1500) appears from Pontico Virunio's notes on Guarino's epitome: see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie, hellénique, ou, Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 4 vols. (Paris,

Angelo Poliziano was certainly a pupil, and Poliziano translated four books of the *Iliad* into Latin hexameters during the Greek scholar's residence in the city. After the departure of Callistus in 1475, no further progress was made on this fine translation.¹¹ Bartolomeo Fonzio was also a student in Florence, and his Latin translations of Pindar, Homer, and Apollonius were based on the notes he took in Callistus's classroom.¹²

In March 1475 Callistus left Florence, and it is the period immediately following his departure that is the subject of the rest of this article. The outline above shows a scholar working at the very highest levels. Particularly noteworthy is the time he spent on the more sophisticated Greek poets. Callistus is the first person known to have lectured in the West on Pindar, Theocritus, and Apollonius—a selection that testifies to his ambition, to his judgment, and to the abilities of his pupils.¹³

Italy

Callistus's decision to leave Florence in March 1475 has never been explained. Bessarion had died a few years

earlier, in November 1472, and, deprived of his protection, Callistus may have found himself vulnerable. There is no indication, however, that when Callistus left Florence he intended to leave Italy.¹⁴

From Florence, he traveled north to Milan. He took his library with him, and part of the journey was by barge on the river Po. When he reached Cremona, local officials demanded that he pay duty on his books and impounded the cases. The incident prompted the personal intervention of the duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, on his behalf, exempting him from the tax and restoring the books to him. A letter from the duke, dated 21 March 1475, indicates that Callistus went to Milan to enter the duke's service. It contains a stern clause warning that Callistus should be given no cause to be unhappy, and no reason to ask the duke again for his help.¹⁵ The clause reinforces a suspicion that the incident was an unpleasant experience for the elderly scholar.

Arriving at last in Milan, Callistus immediately formed a plan to sell his books and leave Italy for northern Europe. There is every reason to believe that Callistus could have sold his library in Florence, had he chosen to do so. In fact, the leading financial partner in the purchase of Callistus's books in Milan subsequently felt obliged to write an apologetic letter to the unofficial ruler of Florence, Lorenzo de' Medici, in which he excuses his temerity in buying a library that the great collector might have wanted for himself.¹⁶ The apology

1885–1906), 1:xxxiii n. 3; Avezzù, "Per l'identificazione di Andronico Callisto copista," 87 and n. 34.

11 Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 3298, which has the version of *Iliad*, books 2–3, was presented to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1472; Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 3617, which has books 4–5, was complete by 1475 (A. Levine-Rubinstein, "The Notes to Poliziano's *Iliad*," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 25 [1982]: 205–39, at 205).

12 Fonzio's Latin version of Pindar's *Olympians* is probably his reworking of a classroom version made by Callistus: see V. Fera, "La prima traduzione umanistica delle *Olimpiche* di Pindaro," in *Filologia umanistica per Gianvito Resta*, ed. V. Fera and G. Ferrau, 2 vols. (Padua, 1997), 1:693–765, at 700–710; Botley, *Learning Greek*, 108; 225, notes 516–17. For Fonzio's Latin text of the first four books of the *Iliad*, see F. Ferri, "Per una supposta traduzione di Omero del Fonzio," *Athenaeum* 4 (1916): 312–20. Fonzio compiled a complete translation of Apollonius's *Argonautica* based on the lectures of Callistus: see Resta, *Apollonio Rodio*, 1059–64 and n. 25; Botley, *Learning Greek*, 109–10; 227, notes 543–45.

13 These three important poets have a rich tradition of scholia, and Callistus owned a very full collection of scholia on Greek poetry: see H.-C. Günther, "Andronikos Kallistos und das Studium griechischer Dichtertexte," *Eikasmós: Quaderni bolognesi di filologia classica* 10 (1999): 315–34. For evidence that Callistus introduced Poliziano to the scholia on Apollonius, see Botley, *Learning Greek*, 109. Callistus restored the scholia to Pindar's *Olympian Odes* in Athos, Iveron, MS 161, fols. 144–46.

14 An undated invective against an Andronicus belongs to this period. Its editor identifies this Andronicus with Callistus (J. Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *DOP* 49 [1995]: 111–207, at 203–4). Its target may, in fact, have been Andronicus Contoblacas, for whom see J. Monfasani, "In Praise of Ognibene and Blame of Guarino: Andronicus Contoblacas' Invective against Niccolò Botano and the Citizens of Brescia," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 52 (1990): 309–21.

15 The document is edited in E. Motta, "Demetrio Calcondila editore," *AStLomb* 20 (1893): 143–66, at 154: "Ne ha facto intendere d. Andronico da Constantinopoli doctore greco, como venendo lui in qua per condurse alli servitii nostri; et facendo condurre li soy libri greci et latini per aqua in certe capse, li sonno intercepti per li datieri di qualla nostra città, sotto pretexto che debia pagare el datio. . . . Facendo per modo che esso d. Andronicho non habia justa casone de dolerse, nè ritornarse più da noy per questo[.]"

16 The letter, printed in Cammelli, "Andronico Callisto," 206–7, is examined below, pp. 189–90.

suggests that when Callistus left Florence he had no plans to leave Italy altogether.

One likely explanation for the decision to leave Italy is that Callistus, as he became increasingly discontented with his circumstances in Florence, learned that Francesco Filelfo, the grand old man of Greek letters in Milan, was about to take up a permanent position in Rome. Under this impression, and with the encouragement of the duke of Milan, Callistus burned his bridges in Florence and traveled north to fill the position vacated by Filelfo. Unfortunately, Filelfo soon returned to Milan for reasons examined below. Callistus, realizing that the city was not big enough for two such scholars, was obliged to cast around for alternatives.

This hypothesis fits the known movements of both men. Filelfo's can be reconstructed in some detail from his letter collection, recently published in a modern critical edition.¹⁷ This collection, revised and selected by Filelfo, no doubt represents material artfully edited to show him in the best possible light, but it remains our best source for his activities in the months surrounding Callistus's departure from Italy.

The account of Filelfo's movements that emerges from the letters is as follows. In October 1474 Filelfo, in Milan, accepted an invitation to teach in Rome and arranged to be there by Christmas.¹⁸ Delayed by illness in October,¹⁹ he did not set out until the end of November. He traveled via Mantua, Ferrara, and Florence, finally reaching Rome toward the end of December.²⁰ He began to lecture in Rome on 12

January 1475.²¹ His letters of January to April indicate that he was very happy with his new position, and in April and May he talks of returning to Milan to arrange for the permanent transfer of his household to Rome.²² Filelfo left the city for that purpose on 19 June; he reached Florence on 22 June; he was in Bologna on 30 June; and by 18 July 1475, he was back in Milan.²³ He talks of returning to Rome in September, but did not leave until December. His stay in Rome was also brief: he left the city in April 1476, and arrived in Milan in June.²⁴

Next we must consider the relationship between Callistus's plans and Filelfo's movements. First, it is worth noting that on his way to Rome in November 1474, Filelfo spent two days in Florence. Filelfo and Callistus had been acquainted since the 1450s,²⁵ and the two men may well have spoken during this visit. By the time Callistus left Florence for Milan in March of the following year, Filelfo had been in Rome for three months, and every public indication was that he would remain there for the foreseeable future. These are the circumstances under which Callistus was apparently invited to Milan by the duke. He reached the city toward the end of March 1475, but he had been there for no more than three months when Filelfo returned. The first thing Filelfo did on his arrival was to pay the duke a three-day visit in Pavia, and he reports that he was well

17 De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*.

18 See Filelfo to Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, 10 October 1474: "ante diem natalem salvatoris nostri me videbis Romae" (C. de' Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo*, 3 vols. [Milan, 1808], 2:370–71; De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1694).

19 See Filelfo to Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, 10 October 1474; to Gian Pietro Arrivabene, 14 October 1474; to Marco Aurelio, 19 October 1474 (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1694–95, 1697–98). The letters to the cardinal and to Arrivabene are also in De' Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo*, 2:370–71, 374–75.

20 Writing to Arrivabene on 20 November 1474, he is about to leave Milan. A letter to Cardinal Gonzaga indicates that he arrived in Mantua on 25 November and intends to leave on 27 November. He is in Ferrara on 1 December, and in Florence on 6 December. When he writes to the duke of Urbino on 30 December, he has not been long in Rome (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1704–8).

21 His lectures are on Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*. His surviving prolusion is dated 12 January 1475: Filelfo, [*Orationes et alia opera*] (Brescia, 1488), sigs. h7v–h8r (ISTC ip00608000).

22 Filelfo to Alberto Parisi, 18 April 1475; to Marco Parenti, 7 May (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1714–15). The letter to Parisi is also in De' Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo*, 2:386.

23 Filelfo to Arrivabene, 24 June; to Ambrogio Griffi and Lazzaro Tedaldi da Piacenza, 26 June; to Lorenzo de' Medici, 30 June (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1716–17, 1719–20).

24 Filelfo to Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, 18 July; to Arrivabene, 19 July; to Pope Sixtus IV, 25 July; to Marco Aurelio, 4 August; to Tommaso Papinio Ipponico, 13 August; to Leonardo Griffi, 16 August; to Cardinal Giacomo Piccolomini, 21 August; to Francesco Piccolomini, 5 December; to Fabrizio Elfito, 5 January 1476; to Ambrogio Griffi, 23 April; to Marco Aurelio, 8 June (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1720–21, 1723, 1727–28, 1734–35, 1739, 1765, 1767, 1810, 1818).

25 Seven letters survive from Filelfo to Callistus: three are from 1456, and four from 1464–66. They are printed in De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 2:657–58, 659–60, 665–66, 1009–10, 1012, 1090–92; 3:1191–92.

received.²⁶ Filelfo's return to Milan was ostensibly to arrange for the transfer of his household to Rome, and he claimed that he would move permanently to Rome in September. These claims are emphatic and repeated several times in the surviving correspondence: they may indicate that rumors had reached Rome that he might not return after all, and that he felt the need to reassure his colleagues there.²⁷ Family affairs detained him in Milan during these months: his young son had died just before his return; another son died just after, and his wife Laura became seriously ill. While Filelfo tarried in Milan, he found time to recommend Demetrius Chalcocondyles to take up Callistus's old position in Florence.²⁸ By this date, Callistus must already have left Milan.

A second possible explanation for Callistus's decision to leave Italy is that news of the death of his relative Theodore Gaza in faraway Calabria, apparently sometime in 1475,²⁹ had reached him in Milan. Filelfo was in correspondence with Gaza in 1474, and his last letter to him is dated 27 August 1474.³⁰ Gaza's version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* was printed in Rome and received its colophon on 19 May 1475. The editor, Nicolaus Gupalatinus, says that Gaza revised it. Although Gaza need not himself have been in Rome while the volume was being printed, Gupalatinus might well have mentioned Gaza's death if he had known of it; he had studied under Gaza and admired him.³¹ Gaza bequeathed a valuable Greek manu-

script of Strabo to Callistus in his will. He might not have made this bequest had he known that Callistus had already left Italy. There appear to have been legal problems surrounding the terms of Gaza's will: in any event, Callistus did not receive this manuscript.³² The evidence is circumstantial, but it seems likely that Callistus left Italy shortly after Gaza's death.

Thus, in the summer of 1475 Callistus found himself in some difficulty. After he lost his protector Bessarion in 1472, his position in Florence began to deteriorate. Moving to Milan, he first endured the indignity of having his books impounded at the border; he then discovered that the person whose role he had intended to fill in Milan had returned to the city, renewed his good relations with the duke, and showed no signs of leaving again; and finally, at about this time, he learned that his only relative in Italy, Gaza, had just died. These circumstances provide the context for Callistus's decision to leave Italy.

We shall see that Callistus left Italy in the company of at least one other Greek, probably George Hermonymus. Another eminent Greek scholar working in Italy was also said to have been contemplating leaving Italy in the summer of 1475. On 1 June Filelfo wrote from Rome to Lorenzo de' Medici that the great Aristotelian scholar Joannes Argyropoulos was going to leave Rome and go "out of Italy."³³ Argyropoulos's modern biographer, Giuseppe Cammelli, is confident that this was an empty threat, a ploy intended to secure Argyropoulos a position in Florence.³⁴ But since

26 See Filelfo's letter to A. Griffi and Lazzaro Tedaldi, 26 June 1475 (De' Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo*, 2:391; De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1716–17); Filelfo to Arrivabene, 19 July 1475 (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1721).

27 See, for example, De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1716, 1721, 1722, 1725, 1728, 1735, 1736, 1739, 1741, 1742.

28 Filelfo to Alamanno Rinuccini in Florence, 22 August 1475 (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 4:1740–41). This letter was delivered by Chalcocondyles himself.

29 For the date of Gaza's death, see C. Bianca, "Gaza, Teodoro," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 52 (Rome, 1999), 737–46, at 744.

30 The letter is edited in De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 3:1672–73.

31 The date of the edition of the *Problemata* derives from the colophon. In the undated dedication to Pope Sixtus IV, Gupalatinus writes of Gaza: "quam interpretationem Nicolao V iam diu dicaverat, emendavit nuper sub Sixto pontifice IIII. . . . Testis ego sum (quod eo dictante scribebam) quantum laboris insumperit senex doctissimus annum continuum in emendandis plurimis librorum erroribus."

For Gupalatinus and his connections with Gaza, see M. A. Rouse and R. H. Rouse, "Nicolaus Gupalatinus and the Arrival of Print in Italy," *La Bibliofilia* 88 (1986): 221–51, at 233–35, 240.

32 See L. Dorez, "Un document sur la bibliothèque de Théodore Gaza," *Revue des bibliothèques* 3 (1893): 385–90, at 388; Chalcocondyles went to court to recover his own bequest from Gaza's will. In a letter of 12 February 1456, Filelfo wrote that Gaza had a copy of Strabo, books 11–17 (on Asia, Asia Minor, the Middle East, and Africa; De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 2:637–38).

33 "M'è occorso d'avvisarve che . . . messer Iohanne Argiropulo è per partire de qui per andare for d'Italia; et poichè ha vari e magnifici inviamenti con vari re, non me pare sia homo da perdere[.]" The letter is Florence, Archivio di Stato, Med. A. P., 32, 267. It has been edited by De' Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo*, 2:389–90; E. Legrand, ed. and trans., *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe* (Paris, 1892), 183–84; S. Lampros, *Ἀργυροπούλεια* (Athens, 1910), 328–29.

34 G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo*, vol. 2, *Giovanni Argiropulo* (Florence, 1951), 151–52.

it now seems that a Greek expedition was in hand at about this date, such plans appear more plausible, as Argyropoulos, too, might have considered joining it. If this is so, then Filelfo's letter indicates that preparations for the journey were under way in June, but that the party had not yet set out. It also suggests that Italy's hold on another of its finest Greek scholars was much more tenuous than is usually allowed.

England

Although there was little to detain Callistus in Italy, his decision to go to England still seems bold and unexpected. There are, however, indications that he already knew something of the country. A letter from Gaza to Callistus of August 1472 indicates that Callistus had previously contemplated a trip to France in the train of Bessarion's final legation.³⁵ Moreover, he had had some contact with Englishmen in Italy. In Padua he had known John Free, a student of Greek, who thought well of him.³⁶ William Selling, who studied in Bologna while Callistus was teaching there in the 1460s, was certainly teaching Greek in England in the early 1470s.³⁷

But Callistus seems to have been drawn to England primarily by George Hermonymus of Sparta; Hermonymus, for his part, was drawn to England by

George Neville, archbishop of York and a prominent patron of letters. Neville had been a patron of Greek letters in England as early as the 1460s. The scribe Manuel of Constantinople, who copied ten Greek manuscripts in England in the later fifteenth century, dedicated one of these to Neville on 30 December 1468.³⁸ Unfortunately for the development of Greek studies in England, Neville was on the wrong side of the dynastic politics that culminated in the restoration of Edward IV to the English throne in 1471. As a consequence, he was imprisoned in the Tower of London in April 1472, and subsequently transferred to the English stronghold in Calais, a move apparently intended to isolate him from the centers of power in England.³⁹ Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484) took a particular interest in securing the release of this prominent ecclesiastic. It is likely that Bessarion's appointment as papal legate to France, Burgundy, and England at the end of 1471 addressed Neville's situation. While there is no evidence that the cardinal and the archbishop ever met, the Milanese ambassador in France, Pietro Aliprando, wrote to the duke of Milan from Gravelines near Calais in November 1472 that Neville was a great friend of Bessarion.⁴⁰

Hermonymus is probably best known today as the Greek teacher who aroused the contempt of

35 Gaza, in Rome, wrote to Callistus: ὅτι οὐ συναποδημήσαις τοῖς ἄλλοις σύ γε εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, ἐπαινῶ σου τὸν λογισμόν. The letter is dated Βοηδρομιώνος ἐνάτη ἱσταμένου (Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion* [n. 3 above], 3:576–77). For the interpretation of the date, see P. Botley, "Renaissance Scholarship and the Athenian Calendar," *GRBS* 46 (2006): 395–431, at 410 n. 51.

36 Free knew Callistus in Padua and spoke highly of him in a letter to Lodovico Carbone, noting that he did not share the vices of his compatriots. Free completed his version of Synesius's *Laus calvitii* in Padua in July 1461. See H. Hody, *De graecis illustribus linguae graecae literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus* (London, 1742), 228–29; J. B. Trapp, "Free [Fre, Freas], John (c. 1430–1464/5)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004), 20:915–16.

37 Selling graduated from Bologna 22 March 1466 (n.s.), and had returned to Canterbury by August 1468. According to John Leland, he learned Greek in Bologna. He was in Rome on church business in 1470, but back in Canterbury the same year. He taught Greek in Canterbury about this time: see C. H. Clough, "Selling, William (c. 1430–1494)," in Matthew and Harrison, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 49:722–24. Greek grammatical notes survive in London, British Library, MS Cotton. Julius F.VII, fol. 118r: see J. Bennett, "John Morer's Will: Thomas Linacre and Prior Sellyng's Greek Teaching," *Studies in the Renaissance* 15 (1968): 70–91.

38 It may not be a coincidence that this manuscript was dedicated a few months after Selling returned from Bologna: see above, n. 37. For the manuscript, Leiden, Voss. gr. 56, see K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Graeci et Miscellanei* (Leiden, 1955), 63–64. For the Neville circle more generally, see M. Lowry, "John Rous and the Survival of the Neville Circle," *Viator* 19 (1988): 327–38, 333–35. For Manuel, see M. R. James, "The Scribe of the Leicester Codex," *JTS* 5 (1904): 445–47; James, "Two More Manuscripts Written by the Scribe of the Leicester Codex," *JTS* 11 (1910): 291–92; James, "Another Book Written by the Scribe of the Leicester Codex," *JTS* 12 (1911): 465–66; J. Harris, *Greek Émigrés in the West, 1400–1520* (Camberley, 1995), 136–39. For his manuscripts, see E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1981–97), 1: no. 115; 2: no. 147 (hereafter RGK).

39 For Neville, see M. Hicks, "Neville, George (1432–1476)," in Matthew and Harrison, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 40:492–95. For his imprisonment, see also J. Warkworth, *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. J. Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps (London, 1839), 25–26; C. Ross, *Edward IV* (Berkeley, 1974), 191.

40 25 November 1472 in A. B. Hinds, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan*, vol. 1 (London, 1912), 169. Bessarion's extant correspondence makes no reference to Neville.

Erasmus and Guillaume Budé.⁴¹ In fact, he had a much more interesting career than the dismissive judgments of these great scholars of the northern European Renaissance might suggest.⁴² In the 1470s Hermonymus undertook a papal mission to have Neville released from his confinement in Calais. He received a travel warrant from the pope, apparently for this purpose, dated 28 June 1473.⁴³ The purpose of his mission is revealed by two later sources: in March 1476, Callistus stated in a letter he wrote on Hermonymus's behalf that Sixtus had sent Hermonymus to obtain Neville's freedom; a few months later, Hermonymus, now in Paris, repeated this information in the colophon to a manuscript he completed there.⁴⁴ Neville was eventually pardoned on 11 November 1474.⁴⁵ He immediately returned to England, landing at Dover on 19 December 1474 and spending Christmas in Kent.⁴⁶ Hermonymus's precise role in the archbishop's release is uncertain, but Callistus's letter of 1476 speaks of money

that Hermonymus had brought to England from Rome, money that may represent the pope's reward for a job well done.⁴⁷ It is likely that Callistus's expedition to England was conceived in the afterglow of this minor diplomatic triumph. At some point during these years Hermonymus certainly attempted to capitalize on his connection with Neville: a Latin translation of extracts from the Greek Fathers made by Hermonymus and dedicated to Neville appears to belong to the period following Neville's release.⁴⁸

Both Callistus and Hermonymus moved in Bessarion's circle.⁴⁹ There is evidence to suggest that the two men knew each other in Italy: Callistus's annotated manuscript of Gaza's grammar, which entered the Vatican Library in the years immediately after the former's departure from Italy, had been copied by Hermonymus.⁵⁰ We know that Callistus left Italy in 1475 in the company of an unnamed Greek. In 1476, some months after Callistus's departure, Francesco della Torre wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici to explain the circumstances in which he had purchased the Greek scholar's books. Della Torre stated that Callistus had decided to travel north from Milan with a man from the Peloponnese, a "signore della Morea."⁵¹ Perhaps this "signore" was Demetrius Cantacuzenus, an obscure figure considered below, who appeared in London about the same time as Callistus. More likely, however, the "signore" was Hermonymus: Hermonymus tended to identify himself as a Spartan, and when next we

41 For Erasmus's judgment, see Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P. S. Allen et al., 12 vols. (Oxford, 1906–58), 1:7; for Budé's, see *ibid.*, 2:571–72.

42 The best modern study of Hermonymus's manuscripts is M. Kalatzi, *Hermonymos: A Study in Scribal, Literary and Teaching Activities in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Athens, 2009). See also H. Omont, "Georges Hermonyme de Sparte, maître de grec à Paris, et copiste de manuscrits (1476)," *Mémoires de société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 12 (1885): 65–98; Omont, "Nouveaux manuscrits grecs copiés à Paris par Georges Hermonyme," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 13 (1886): 110–13; J. Irigoin, "Georges Hermonyme de Sparte: Ses manuscrits et son enseignement à Paris," *BullBudé* (1977): 22–27.

43 For the terms of the warrant, see M. Kalatzi, "Georgios Hermonymos: A Greek Scribe and Teacher in Paris," in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, ed. G. Croenen and P. Ainsworth (Leuven, 2006), 355–65, at 355 n. 3.

44 Callistus's letter was first printed in J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1833), 420–26. It was reprinted in PG 161:1017–20 (col. 1017). For the interpretation of the date, Μουνηγιώνας τρίτη ἰσταμένον, see Botley, "Renaissance Scholarship and the Athenian Calendar," 408–12. Callistus's letter survives in a copy made by Hermonymus: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2966 (Omout, "Georges Hermonyme de Sparte," 68). Hermonymus's colophon, first printed in Hody, *De graecis illustribus . . . instauratoribus*, 235, is reproduced in PG 161:1017–18, and Omout, "Georges Hermonyme de Sparte," 91. This is the colophon to a manuscript of Quintus of Smyrna considered below, pp. 194–95.

45 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office . . . A.D. 1467–1477* (London, 1901), 470.

46 See Hicks, "Neville, George (1432–1476)," 495.

47 PG 161:1017–18.

48 This translation survives in London, British Library, MS Harl. 3346 (the presentation copy), and in British Library, MS Harl. 3348; for both, see Omout, "Georges Hermonyme de Sparte," 95.

49 Kalatzi, *Hermonymos*, tentatively identifies George Hermonymus with Charitonymus Hermonymus. Charitonymus certainly worked with Bessarion in Italy: see Diller, "Three Greek Scribes" (n. 2 above).

50 Callistus annotated Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 13, copied by Hermonymus (G. Mercati and P. F. de' Cavalieri, *Codices vaticani graeci: Codices 1–329* [Rome, 1923], 10; *RGK* 1:35–36, no. 18; *RGK* 3:57, no. 102; Centanni, "La biblioteca di Andronico Callisto" [n. 2 above], 217). This manuscript is not recorded in the inventory of the Vatican Library made in 1475, but appears in that of 1481: see R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* (Vatican City, 1963), 98, no. 380.

51 This letter, mentioned above, p. 183, is printed in Cammelli, "Andronico Callisto" (n. 1 above), 206–7.

hear of Callistus he is in London writing on behalf of Hermonymus.⁵²

While Callistus was contemplating his future in Milan, the English were preparing for a great war with France. Throughout the spring of 1475, Edward IV was massing his forces at Dover for the crossing to Calais.⁵³ In a manuscript miscellany now in the Bodleian Library, Hermonymus recorded that Edward left the capital to join his army on 30 May. At this time he appears to have been among Neville's retinue in London.⁵⁴ By July the English army had been transported to France, and the king arrived in Calais on 4 July. Neville accompanied his sovereign, probably because the king did not trust him enough to leave him behind in England. It is not clear whether the archbishop took Hermonymus with him. The English army, elaborately prepared at enormous expense, was not tested: on 29 August 1475 the opposing kings came to terms, and Edward agreed to withdraw in return for a large pension. Over the next few weeks the army retraced its steps. The king was still in Calais on 18 September and reached London on 28 September.⁵⁵ Neville accompanied the English withdrawal and seems to have been in London by October.⁵⁶ It is possible that he brought Callistus and the "signore" with him: other evidence, considered below, suggests that the Greeks, too, were in London by the beginning of October.

During the year following Neville's release, it seems that Hermonymus taught Greek to the curate of Romney, a parish that lies on the Kent coast not far from Dover.⁵⁷ Evidently our Greeks found some

in England who were receptive to this new learning. But in general things went very badly for these Greek exiles in England. In December 1475 Hermonymus found himself accused of espionage by Italian merchants and imprisoned in London. He had been held for three months when Callistus wrote from London to his compatriot Georgios Palaeologos Dishypatos, the admiral of the French fleet, on Hermonymus's behalf. From this letter, we learn that Hermonymus's freedom depended on the payment of a very large fine. Neville, we must assume, was unable or unwilling to help Hermonymus find this money. Callistus states that he himself stood security for a loan to cover part of the sum, while Hermonymus was obliged to sell the gifts he had received from Neville and everything he had brought from Rome.⁵⁸ The property he disposed of may have included his Greek manuscripts. He was held in irons but allowed visitors,⁵⁹ and he had at least two manuscripts with him in his cell. One of these was the decretals of Boniface VIII, a particularly fine vellum manuscript made in England in the fourteenth century. It was carefully copied and expensively illuminated, and must have belonged to the library of a rich man. It is tempting to speculate that Neville lent it to his protégé. Quite what use or comfort such a collection may have been to Hermonymus is hard to guess, but he used it to record his curse on the British in a large Greek hand in the center of the final leaf, a calculated defacement of the book.⁶⁰ The other manuscript he had

52 For Callistus's letter, see n. 44.

53 For the chronology of the English invasion, see Ross, *Edward IV* (n. 39 above), 222–23, 227.

54 He noted in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Grabe 30, fol. 115r: τῇ λ' μαίτου ἐξήβην ὁ ρήγας ἀπὸ ταῖς Λοῦνδρες [*sic*]. For the king's movements, see C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, 2 vols. (London, 1923), 2:126. The note suggests that Hermonymus was in London at the time. Kalatzi assigns it to 1474, but offers no evidence for the date (Kalatzi, *Hermonymos*, 39). If Hermonymus and the "signore della Morea" are one and the same, Hermonymus must have traveled to Italy shortly afterward.

55 Ross, *Edward IV*, 234.

56 Neville, apparently in London, sanctioned the election of a new abbot for Whitby Abbey in October 1475: see *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 554 (11 October), 550 (10 November).

57 See a note in Hermonymus's hand in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Grabe 30, fol. 112v: Ὁ παπᾶς ὁ οὐκλέζος ὁ φίλος μου ὅπου τὸν ἐδίδαξα τὰ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα ἔναι κουράτος ῥομανὲ πλησίον α βιγκερσέ. The

text is clear, but its meaning uncertain. Harris, observing that παπᾶς is too humble a word for someone of Neville's stature, suggests that this pupil was Shirwood, then archdeacon of Richmond (Harris, *Greek Emigres* [n. 38 above], 146). However, the final words seem to call the man "curate of Romney near Winchelsea." This may refer to one of three parishes: the vicarage of New Romney, the rectory of Old Romney, or the rectory of St. Mary in the Marsh of Romney. The first of these was in the gift of All Souls College, Oxford, and was held by Richard Bergrove between 1474 and 1477: see *Registrum Thome Burchier Cantuariensis Episcopi 1454–1486*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay (London, 1957), 235, 319, 329.

58 For this information, our only source is Callistus's letter to Georgios Palaeologos Dishypatos (see n. 44). For Georgios, see Harris, *Greek Émigrés*, 175–80.

59 Callistus wrote of him: πέδαις δὲ σιδηραῖς δεσμωθεὶς τοὺς πόδας, ὡς αὐτὸς πολλάκις εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον πορευθεὶς εἶδον . . . (PG 161:1018).

60 London, British Library, MS Royal 9 E II, fol. 158v: Γεώργιος Ἐρμώνυμος παθὼν ἄτλητα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πικρᾷ εἰρκτῇ ἀδίκως ἀναθεματίζει καὶ καταράται πᾶσι τοῖς Βρετανοῖς. The manuscript is described in G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum*:

with him was the miscellany that he had used to note the king's departure from London the previous year. In prison he recorded in this book a dream in which three of his teeth fell out.⁶¹

Neville's reduced circumstances no doubt decreased his value as a patron, but Hermonymus and his fellow Greeks may have stayed with him until the end: the archbishop died on 8 June 1476 at Blyth in Nottinghamshire, and Hermonymus left England for the last time just days later. By 28 June he was in Paris.⁶² Of Demetrius Cantacuzenus there is no further trace, and Callistus, too, disappears entirely. He describes himself as elderly in his letter of March 1476, and Constantine Lascaris, writing some years later, states that he died in England, friendless.⁶³

The Sale of Callistus's Library

We may now return to Milan and to the sale of Callistus's library. In the summer of 1475, Callistus had few reasons to remain in Italy and some hope of patronage in England. What he may have lacked, having outlived his patrons Strozzi and Bessarion, was the means to finance this expedition. His library was not only a

substantial asset but also one that would have been very difficult to take with him. His encounter with the customs officers at Cremona must have been fresh in his mind: if he had had problems bringing his library to Milan, where he enjoyed the favor of the duke, it would surely be much more difficult to transport it through northern Europe. Whether or not its sale was a financial necessity, the decision to leave Italy made it a practical one.

At this moment, Bonaccorso of Pisa entered into a partnership with a Milanese nobleman, Giovanni Francesco della Torre, to buy the library. These two men would, within the next few years, undertake an ambitious program of Greek printing in Milan. Bonaccorso, it seems, provided the learning and perhaps some of the technical expertise for this enterprise, while Della Torre supplied most of the money.⁶⁴ Bonaccorso had first been introduced to Callistus nearly twenty years before, in 1456: a Greek letter from Filelfo survives, stating that the young man was poor but eager to learn Greek.⁶⁵ In 1459 Bonaccorso reappears at Filelfo's house, taking dictation of a letter because Filelfo is too ill to write.⁶⁶ We find him in Pisa in 1469, playing host to another Greek teacher, Demetrio Castreno.⁶⁷ By 1475 he is back in Milan, contemplating a venture into the new business of printing. We know of the purchase of Callistus's library from a letter written by Della Torre in 1476 to Lorenzo de' Medici, explaining its circumstances. This letter, mentioned above, is worth quoting at length:

Dico . . . che volendose partire de quì Andronico, et deliberando de andare cum uno signore della Morea che stava quì, et non havendo il modo di possersi levare, praticò con Maestro

Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, 4 vols. (London, 1921), 1:294. Hermonymus's words may contain an echo of the dream of Hipparchus in Herodotus 5.56. Such an echo would be consistent with Hermonymus's well-attested interest in dreams: see below, pp. 192–94.

61 A note in Hermonymus hand reads: Φευβρουαρίου η' ημέρα σαββάτου ἔδοξε μοι κατ' ὄναρ ὅτι ἔπεσαν μοι ὀδόντας τρεῖς ἄνευ αἵματος καὶ ὀδύνης. Δώδε μοι Θεὸς ἀγαθὴν λύσιν (Oxford, Bodleian, MS Grabe 30, fol. 1r). Between the fall of Constantinople and the end of the century, 18 February fell on a Sunday in 6 years: 1459, 1470, 1476, 1481, 1487, and 1498 (C. R. Cheney, ed., *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* [London, 1970]). Since Hermonymus is known to have had this manuscript with him in England in 1475 (see n. 54), it is likely that he recorded this dream in his cell in February 1476.

62 Hermonymus signed his copy of Quintus of Smyrna τρίτη φθίνοντος ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς κατ' Ἀθηναίους, δν Ἰούνιον ῥωμαῖστί καλοῦσιν, that is, 28 June: see Botley, "Renaissance Scholarship and the Athenian Calendar," 412. Because Kalatzi misreads this date as 3 June, she states that Hermonymus left England before the death of Neville (Kalatzi, *Hermonymos*, 38, 41, 42).

63 Constantine Lascaris, in an undated letter to Giovanni Pardo, lists among unfortunate Greek contemporaries Ἀνδρόνικον δὲ τὸν Κάλιστον ἐς τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, ὅπου φίλων ἔρημος τέθηκε. The letter is edited in T. Martínez-Manzano, *Konstantinos Laskaris: Humanist, Philologe, Lehrer, Kopist* (Hamburg, 1994), 161.

64 For Bonaccorso, see G. Ballistreri, "Bonaccorso da Pisa," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 11 (Rome, 1969), 464–65. For Della Torre, see F. Petrucci, "Della Torre, Giovanni Francesco," in *ibid.*, vol. 37 (Rome, 1989), 570–71.

65 Filelfo to Callistus, 23 May [1456] (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters* [n. 4 above], 2:657–58). Bonaccorso is first noticed in a letter from Filelfo dated 22 January 1452 (*ibid.*, 2:507). He appears again in a letter from Filelfo dated 7 April 1456 (*ibid.*, 2:653–54).

66 25 April 1459 (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 2:735–36).

67 See Filelfo to Castreno, 7 March 1469 (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 3:1299–300).

Bonaccorso Pisano . . . de venderli tutti li libri suoi. . . Et . . . li ho molto cari, non tanto per lo pretio . . . ma perchè sono molto coretti et emendati, come quelli che sono scritti da homo doctissimo per una buona parte.⁶⁸

This was a very substantial collection, filling six cases, “capsette sei.” Bonaccorso was not able to raise the necessary sum, and so he approached Della Torre, who contributed 150 gold ducats for the purchase to his 50.⁶⁹ As the chief financial backer, Della Torre retained the Greek books in his house, where they were still to be found in November 1476, the date of his letter to Lorenzo.

Bonaccorso had already printed several Latin works before he embarked on the most ambitious program of Greek printing yet undertaken in Italy.⁷⁰ Between 1478 and 1481, seven works were published in Greek in Milan under Bonaccorso. It seems that the first of these was a Greek–Latin dictionary, probably printed at the beginning of 1478. The Greek text of Aesop’s fables was published with a Latin translation the same year. Both editions contain prefaces from Bonaccorso to Della Torre.⁷¹ Around 1480 four more Greek works were printed: a grammatical pamphlet, Constantine Lascaris’s grammar in Greek and Latin, a Latin–Greek dictionary, and an edition of the poems of Theocritus and Hesiod. Bonaccorso dedicated his edition of Lascaris’s grammar to Giulio Pomponio Leto. In 1481 a Psalter in Greek and Latin concluded the output of the press.⁷²

At least some of these works must have been printed from manuscripts that Callistus had sold in Milan. The first printed Greek lexicon, which lay at the heart of all subsequent printed lexica for many decades, may well have been set from a manuscript that had belonged to Callistus.⁷³ Given Callistus’s known interest in Theocritus, and given the value Della Torre set upon the accuracy of Callistus’s manuscripts, there is good reason to believe that the editio princeps of Theocritus and Hesiod was based on copies from his library.⁷⁴

After 1481 this Milanese printing press disappeared, and Callistus’s library was put up for sale again. In 1483 Ermolao Barbaro wrote to Giorgio Merula, another former pupil of Callistus, that the books were no longer in Milan.⁷⁵ We would know little more about this library without the cumulative efforts of modern paleographers. A brief outline of these discoveries will give some sense of the pace of progress over the past forty years. In 1976 Elpidio Mioni listed eighteen manuscripts known to be in Callistus’s hand.⁷⁶ In 1981 the first volume of the *Repertorium* of Greek scribes recorded Callistus’s hand in a further eleven manuscripts.⁷⁷ A survey conducted by Monica Centanni in 1985 added another twenty-eight manuscripts, bringing

bears the date 20 September 1481. For the Milanese Greek press, see P. Botley, “Learning Greek in Western Europe 1476–1516,” in *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. C. Holmes and J. Waring (Leiden, 2002), 199–223, at 201–6, 220.

73 For the first printed Greek lexicon, see Botley, *Learning Greek*, 64–65.

74 The manuscript sources of this edition have not been previously identified, but Callistus restored Athos, Iveron, MS 161, which contains Hesiod, *Works and Days* (fols. 12r–143r) and 15 *Idylls* of Theocritus (fols. 88v–106r): see A. Turyn, “Symbolae ad recensio-nem Pindaricam pertinentes,” in *Charisteria Gustavo Przychocki a discipulis oblata* (Warsaw, 1934), 210–19, at 213; D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*, vol. 1, *Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1974), 25, nos. 44–46.

75 On 1 September 1483, Barbaro wrote to Merula from Venice: “Libros Andronici non haberi amplius istic [i.e., in Milan] doleo, quanquam si verum est pervenisse illos in manus Pici nostri minus moleste fero” (E. Barbaro, *Epistolae, orationes et carmina*, ed. V. Branca, 2 vols. [Florence, 1943], 1:44).

76 E. Mioni, “Bessarione scriba ed alcuni suoi collaboratori,” in *Miscellanea marciana di studi bessarionei* (Padua, 1976), 263–318, at 297–99.

77 *RGK* 1:35–36 (n. 38 above), no. 18.

68 Cammelli, “Andronico Callisto” (n. 1 above), 207.

69 Filelfo to Castreno, 7 March 1469 (De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo: Collected Letters*, 3:1299–300).

70 Bonaccorso published two Latin works in 1474: for these and other works from the same press, see Ballistreri, “Bonaccorso da Pisa.”

71 For the date of the Greek–Latin dictionary, ISTC ic00958000, see Botley, *Learning Greek* (n. 1 above), appendix 2, no. 1. Bonaccorso’s prefaces to Della Torre are in B. Botfield, *Prefaces to the First Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics* (London, 1861), 168–72; neither mentions Callistus’s library. For Aesop, ISTC ia00098000, see G. C. Keidel, “The Editio Princeps of the Greek Aesop,” *AJP* 24 (1903): 304–17.

72 The editio princeps of Theocritus and Hesiod, ISTC it00143000, printed only *Idylls* 1–18 by the former, and only *Works and Days* by the latter. For the Latin–Greek dictionary, the pamphlet, and the grammar, see Botley, *Learning Greek*, appendix 2, no. 2; appendix 1, nos. 4 and 5. The Psalter, ISTC ip01035000,

the total to fifty-seven.⁷⁸ In 1989 the second volume of the *Repertorium* added twelve more manuscripts, all of which are now in Paris.⁷⁹ In 1994 Robert Todd identified two more.⁸⁰ In 1997 the third volume of the *Repertorium* added six manuscripts from the Vatican Library.⁸¹ In 1999 Hans-Christian Günther identified three more in Italy.⁸² In 2006 Antonio Rollo found Callistus's marginalia and glosses in two manuscripts of Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*.⁸³ By 2013 Stefano Martinelli Tempesta had noted Callistus's hand in four more.⁸⁴ John Monfasani has identified two manuscripts of Gaza's grammar copied by Callistus, and noted Callistus's contribution to another manuscript.⁸⁵ The list stands at eighty-nine manuscripts, and will no doubt be extended further.

Of these manuscripts which are known to have passed through Callistus's hands, sixty-one are today in Italy, and all of them have probably been there since the fifteenth century. Modena has twenty-two, by far the largest number owned by any single library. Of the

eighteen manuscripts now in Paris, most are at the technical end of the spectrum: four are of Aristotle, three are of Alexander of Aphrodisias, and there are manuscripts of Aristotelian scholia, Simplicius, Themistius, Euclid, and Galen. Only one of the Paris manuscripts is of poetry, a copy of Aristophanes. Of course, not every book copied by Callistus was owned by him. Some of these books were certainly not part of his personal library: nine of the Italian manuscripts, for example, belonged to Bessarion and formed part of his donation to Venice. They were presumably commissioned by the cardinal and never belonged to Callistus.

Books in Exile

The final section of this article attempts to establish which books—undoubtedly a very small part of his collection—Callistus retained from the sale of his library to accompany him on his journey to England. To put the question another way: which books did a fifteenth-century Greek, setting off into the unknown, not wish to part with? Attempts to answer this question run into an immediate complication. We may guess that Hermonymus took some books with him when he left Italy. After Callistus's death, Hermonymus produced many copies of Greek texts in France, and at least some of these copies were probably made from manuscripts that he brought with him from Italy in the 1470s. Ultimately, it may be possible to disentangle the books of Callistus from those of Hermonymus. For now, however, we must be content to identify those that went with both men from Italy. The likelihood that a copy of Gaza's Greek grammar accompanied them has already been established.⁸⁶ The following pages look at two Greek authors that certainly traveled to London in 1475: the history of Herodotus and the *Posthomerica* of Quintus.

Herodotus

In the months leading up to the departure of the Greeks, interest in Herodotus's work increased in Italy. Lorenzo Valla's Latin translation, completed in 1457, was first printed in Venice in 1474. In the weeks before Callistus left Italy, this version was reprinted in Rome by the press he had helped a few years earlier.⁸⁷

78 Centanni, "La biblioteca di Andronico Callisto" (n. 2 above), 201–23.

79 RGK 2:34, no. 25.

80 R. B. Todd, "Baltasar Meliavacca, Andronicus Callistus, and the Greek Aristotelian Commentators in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 37 (1994): 62–75. The two manuscripts are Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1144 (Lycophron, Pindar), and Ashburnham 1599 (Themistius; *ibid.*, 70–71).

81 RGK 3:35–36, no. 31.

82 Cremona 130 (Euripides), restored by Callistus (Günther, "Andronikos Kallistos" [n. 13 above], 327, 333). Günther states that Florence, Laur. 31.21 (Euripides), is in a hand rather like Callistus's (321). Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. gr. 611 (colloc. 850), fols. 46r–243v (*Odyssey*). Johannes Rhosos (fl. 1455–1498) made fols. 1–45 (*ibid.*, 334). This last manuscript was not part of Bessarion's donation to Venice.

83 A. Rollo, "Interventi di Andronico Callisto in codici latini," *Studi medievali e umanistici* 4 (2006): 367–80. The manuscripts are both in the Vatican Library: Barb. Lat. 123 and Vat. Lat. 1532.

84 See Martinelli Tempesta, "Per un repertorio dei copisti greci in Ambrosiana" (n. 1 above), 133. The four manuscripts are Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, P 84 sup. (Theocritus), A 185 sup. (Simplicius, Philoponus), E 99 sup. (annotations on the text of Simplicius), and L 35 sup. (lexicon).

85 The manuscripts of the grammar are London, British Library, Add. 18492, and Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II.D.9. Callistus's hand appears in Florence, Laur. 34.24 (a miscellany), fols. 1r, 2v, 3r, 4r. I am grateful to a personal communication from John Monfasani that has expanded the number of Callistus's manuscripts in the present survey.

86 See Botley, *Learning Greek* (n. 2 above), 18–19.

87 Rome: Arnoldus Pannartz, 20 April 1475. ISTC ih00089000.

On 3 October 1475, in London, Demetrius Cantacuzenus finished a manuscript of extracts from Herodotus.⁸⁸ The date of this manuscript, supplied by the scribe in his colophon, has been variously recorded in the secondary literature, and it must be examined before looking more closely at the manuscript's content and sources. The year is given twice by the scribe, first according to the Byzantine reckoning *anno mundi*—the Eastern calendar by which he lived—and second according to the Western reckoning of his new home, *anno Domini*. The second figure is ,αυοδ', or 1474, and this year has been assigned to the manuscript by several modern scholars. But the Byzantine figure, which supplies the genuine date, is equivalent to the year 1475.⁸⁹ The erroneous dating has persisted in the secondary literature because modern scholars are often unfamiliar with Byzantine dates. Cantacuzenus seems to have had similar difficulties converting between calendars: even in London, Cantacuzenus was still thinking in Byzantine time.

Cantacuzenus's extracts are the first recorded appearance of the Greek text of Herodotus on English soil. Unfortunately, this moment seems to have made no impression on contemporary Londoners, and Cantacuzenus's manuscript constitutes almost everything that is known about him. However, another survival connects him firmly with Hermonymus. The miscellany that Hermonymus had with him in England, and retained in prison, has a marginal note by Cantacuzenus.⁹⁰ The existence of this note indicates that he had some access to Hermonymus's books; the fact that the note comments on one of Hermonymus's dreams indicates that the two men knew each other personally. Cantacuzenus finished his manuscript

of Herodotus in London around the same time that Neville returned to London from France.⁹¹

The most recent editor of Herodotus has identified the source of Cantacuzenus's extracts with a manuscript of the complete history now in Vienna, which was copied by an unidentified scribe in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁹² It is closely related to another manuscript of Herodotus in Callistus's hand that is now in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.⁹³ Before we look at the contents of Cantacuzenus's manuscript, it is worth examining the fortunes of this other copy.

The Cambridge manuscript of Herodotus was copied by Callistus with some care and incorporates a number of his conjectures.⁹⁴ By the seventeenth century it was in the possession of the archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft (1617–1693), who donated his library to Emmanuel College shortly before his death. It already belonged to the archbishop when it was collated by Thomas Gale in 1679.⁹⁵ Its movements between the time it left Callistus's hands and 1679 are uncertain, but some light may be shed on the fortunes of his copy of Herodotus by those of a Cambridge manuscript of Thucydides that is also in his hand.⁹⁶ The Cambridge Herodotus and the Cambridge Thucydides were conceived as a pair: they are the same size, written on the same paper, in the same ink, and they have the same number of lines to a page. The Thucydides manuscript has a note of ownership by an Italian, Baltasar

88 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 1731. The date is from the colophon on fol. 198r. See H. Omont, "Les manuscrits grecs datés des XV^e et XVI^e siècles de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de France," *Revue des bibliothèques* 2 (1892): 1–32, 145–76, 194–215, 19; Harris, *Greek Emigres* (n. 38 above), 146; *RGK* 2:66, no. 129. For Cantacuzenus, see D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1560: A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study* (Washington, DC, 1968), 228, no. 100.

89 See H. Lebègue, "Nouveaux problèmes de comput," *RPh*, n.s., 15 (1891): 132–38, at 133.

90 See n. 101.

91 See above, p. 189.

92 Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, gr. 85. For a description, see H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, *Codices historici, codices philosophici et philologici* (Vienna, 1961), 90. For its relations, see H. B. Rosén, ed., *Herodoti Historiae*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1987–97), 1:xl–xlii.

93 Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 30, on which see M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Emmanuel College: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Cambridge, 1904), 29; Centanni, "La biblioteca di Andronico Callisto" (n. 2 above), 208.

94 The text of this manuscript and the value of Callistus's conjectures are considered in B. Hemmerdinger, *Les manuscrits d'Hérodote et la critique verbale* (Genoa, 1981), 135–42. See also J. E. Powell, "The Manuscript S of Herodotus," *CR* 51 (1937): 118–19.

95 Hemmerdinger, *Les manuscrits d'Hérodote*, 135.

96 Cambridge, University Library, Nn.3.18, on which see Centanni, "La biblioteca di Andronico Callisto," 208. The identification of this hand with that of George the Cretan is an error that goes back to Powell, "The Manuscript S of Herodotus," 118–19.

Meliavacca.⁹⁷ He seems to have been active in Milan in the 1480s and is known to have owned two other manuscripts connected with Callistus: one of Themistius, the other of Lycophron and Pindar.⁹⁸ Several plausible conclusions can be drawn from this information: that Callistus made the careful copy now in Cambridge as one of a pair of manuscripts of the two great Greek historians; that this pair was left behind in Italy, perhaps in the possession of Meliavacca, but in any case acquired by him before the end of the fifteenth century; and that they are likely to have circulated as a pair until they reached England, perhaps in the seventeenth century. If this interpretation is accurate, then the manuscript of Herodotus copied by Callistus did not travel with him to England.

We may now turn to the nature of Cantacuzenus's extracts and his purpose in making them. Because Cantacuzenus's manuscript is of no value for the text of Herodotus, its contents have never been described.⁹⁹ For the purposes of this article, references to the passages excerpted with a brief summary of their contents will be sufficient:

Fols. 11r–51r: Croesus's dream of the death of his son Atys and its fulfillment (Herodotus 1.34–43).

Fols. 51r–101r: Thales; the treaty of Croesus with Sparta; Cyrus defeats Croesus; the fall of Sardis; Croesus on his pyre (1.75–87).

Fols. 101r–191r: Astyages' dreams; the birth and survival of Cyrus; his youth; the punishment of Harpagus (1.107–20).

Fols. 191r–211r: Babylon described; the temple of Baal; Semiramis and Nitocris (1.178–85).¹⁰⁰

97 At the beginning, on a blank leaf: Κτῆμα ἐμοῦ Βαλτάσορος [sic] τοῦ Μελιαβακκοῦ (*Cambridge University Library Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 4:489–90). The final ten leaves are written in another contemporary hand that has not been identified. This manuscript of Meliavacca is not mentioned in Todd, "Baltasar Meliavacca" (n. 80 above).

98 For Meliavacca, see Todd, "Baltasar Meliavacca," 68–70. The manuscripts are Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1599 (Themistius's paraphrase of Aristotle's *De anima*), and Ashburnham 1144 (Lycophron and Pindar; *ibid.*, 69–71).

99 The catalogue describes it simply as "Herodoti Historiarum excerpta" (H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 4 parts [Paris, 1886–98], 2:131).

100 This extract picks up immediately after a break in the text copied by Callistus in Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 30.

Fols. 211v–241r: Cyrus marches on Babylon; he punishes the river Gyndes, besieges Babylon, lowers the Euphrates, and takes the city; the wealth of Babylonia (1.188–92).

Fol. 241v: Cambyses succeeds Cyrus (2.1). The customs of the Massagetae (1.216).

Fols. 251r–521r: The Persians debate the war; Xerxes's dreams and their interpretation; the Persian preparations and muster; Athos is separated from the mainland by a canal (7.8–60).

Fols. 521r–541v: Calculations of the size of the Persian force (7.184–87).

Fols. 541v–551v: The defeat of Leonidas and the 300 at Thermopylae; the fate of Leonidas's corpse (7.223–25).

Fols. 551v–561r: Bogen's resistance to the Greeks and his suicide (7.107).

Fol. 561v: The Sargatians and their lassoes (7.85).

Fols. 571r–581v: Burial practices for Scythian kings (4.71–73).

Fols. 581v–591r: How the Scythians take trophies from their dead enemies (4.64–65).

Fol. 591r: The Scythians sacrifice one in every hundred of their captured enemies (4.62).

Fols. 591v–741r: The Scythians and the Amazons; the Scythians look for allies; the inconclusive campaign of Darius against them (4.110–36).

Fols. 741r–1211r: The Battle of Salamis (book 8, complete).

Fols. 1211r–1771r: The Battle of Plataea (book 9, complete).

Fols. 1771r: Mice destroy the Assyrian weapons (2.141). Indian dogs and their upkeep (1.192).

Fol. 1771v: Various names; two sentences from Thucydides (2.87.4 and 3.67.6).

Fols. 1781r–1811v: The story of the wealth of Rhampsinetus (Herodotus 2.121).

The lacuna, from Herodotus 1.140.2 to 1.177, is recorded in Hemmerdinger, *Les manuscrits d'Hérodote*, 137.

Fols. 181v–193r: The Egyptians defeated; the behavior of Psammenitus and his death; the corpse of Amasis; the Table of the Sun; the Ethiopians; Cambyeses retreats; Apis (3.9–29).

Fols. 193r–197v: Darius besieges Babylon; Zopyrus's stratagem; Babylon is taken and its walls destroyed (3.151–60).

Fol. 198r: colophon.

Fol. 198v: blank.

This manuscript seems to have been made by Cantacuzenus for his own use. It is a tidy copy, but not precise or scholarly. It sometimes falls into paraphrase or summary, particularly at the beginning or end of extracts. Most (but not all) of the sections detailed above are picked out with titles or rubricated initials, and a handful of marginal notes baldly indicate the content of the text opposite. It does not appear to be a particularly hasty copy: its many faults of spelling and grammar seem to be due to the scribe's lack of learning, not his lack of time.

Cantacuzenus's notes are certainly not the result of steady progress through the history. Broadly speaking, he moves from book 1 to book 7, back to book 4, then forward to the complete text of books 8 and 9, before finishing with shorter extracts from books 2 and 3. He recorded Scythian customs with particular interest, and the fabric of the city of Babylon recurs. The great heroic battles against the Persians—Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea—are well represented. The eighth and ninth books are transcribed in their entirety, with no indication of the end of one book or the beginning of the next. Other than the timeless fable of Rhampsinitus, Cantacuzenus passed over all of the Egyptian history in Herodotus's second book. He recorded nothing from books 5 and 6, which means that he omitted not just the Ionian revolt but also the great Greek triumph over the Persians at Marathon. It is clear that the marvelous and the extraordinary caught the excerptor's eye, and an interest in the interpretation of dreams is evident: those of Croesus, Astyages, and Xerxes are all extracted. Hermonymus recorded three of his own dreams in his notebook, and Cantacuzenus placed an indecipherable marginal note next to two of these.¹⁰¹

101 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Grabe 30, fols. 11, 115v. For the first of these, dated 18 February [1476], see n. 61. The two dreams recorded

The bitter curse of Hermonymus on the English from his prison cell may recall the words used by Herodotus to describe the dream of Hipparchus.¹⁰² In this context, Cantacuzenus's interest in the dreams recorded by Herodotus is significant.

After the colophon, two leaves of miscellaneous notes in the same hand follow; some of them are difficult to read, and most are clearly not derived from Herodotus's history. There are brief notes on the self-immolation of the sophist Calanus and on one of the successors to Alexander the Great, Seleucus Nicator.¹⁰³ A longer geographical note treats the rivers and mountains of Asia and the area north of the Black Sea.¹⁰⁴ Cantacuzenus's extracts omitted most of Herodotus's geographical digressions from the fourth book, and these final notes may be an attempt to supplement the ancient historian with the work of a more reliable ancient geographer. The notes on the final page are particularly difficult to read, but there is one referring to Timoxenos and Potidaea, as well as two short notes derived from Strabo on the fate of Asian armies in India.¹⁰⁵ Callistus's role in the first printed translation of Strabo and Gaza's bequest of a Greek manuscript of the same author have already been noted, and there is nothing here that his memory could not have supplied. Still, it remains possible that a text of Strabo was also carried to England. After all, it would not be very surprising if a Greek scholar, setting out on a journey into unknown lands, should choose to take with him an eminent example of ancient geographical writing.

Quintus

The second Greek author that went with the Greeks into northern Europe is less well known. The late classical epic poet Quintus tells the story from the end of the *Iliad* to the fall of Troy in fourteen books. The work was rediscovered by Bessarion not long after the fall of Constantinople, in a monastery in southern Italy. He

on fol. 115v are dated 25 July and 4 August and were written down at the same time, presumably shortly after the latter date. They can be no earlier than 1473, but the year is uncertain. Some of Cantacuzenus's marginal note is lost. For a partial transcription, see Kalatzi, *Hermonymos* (n. 42 above), 19 n. 10.

102 For the curse, see n. 60.

103 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1731, fol. 199r.

104 *Ibid.*, fols. 199v–200r.

105 *Ibid.*, fol. 200v; see Herodotus 8.128 and Strabo 15.1.5.

commissioned a transcript, which gave rise to many descendants over the following decades, and the rapid multiplication of copies suggests keen contemporary interest in the work.¹⁰⁶

Callistus would have had no difficulty in procuring the text through Bessarion. Moreover, the first copy commissioned by Bessarion was owned by Giorgio Merula while he attended Callistus's lectures in Bologna in the 1460s.¹⁰⁷ Of particular importance for the purposes of this article are two manuscripts of the work copied by Hermonymus. The first has been plausibly dated to his time in England; the second was completed in Paris in 1476, in the weeks after his release from prison in London.¹⁰⁸ The chances of Hermonymus coming across a copy of Quintus north of the Alps in 1475 were very slim indeed, and it is all but certain that the text first traveled to England with our Greeks. In fact, Hermonymus may have copied some portion of the work while he was imprisoned in London: we know that he had access to manuscripts and writing materials in his cell, and he copied a number of sententious passages from Quintus into his manuscript miscellany—a manuscript that he certainly had with him in his confinement.¹⁰⁹

The last question I wish to address here is why, when Callistus disposed of so many authors in Milan, Quintus was selected for the journey northward. The most obvious answer is that the *Posthomerica* represented the cutting edge of Greek scholarship in the

1470s. As such, it was a work that Callistus judged likely to impress the patrons of northern Europe. There may be another reason, however: the unusual circumstances of the recovery of Quintus's work may have given it a broader significance for the Greek exiles. The text reemerged shortly after the fall of Constantinople to tell the story of the fall of Troy. Quintus's retelling of the fall does not stand comparison with Vergil's, but a Greek account in Homeric hexameters must have resonated with those for whom the fall of Constantinople was the central event of their lives.

This observation returns us to Bessarion and his project to save the literature of Greece for posterity. Quintus was one of the few substantial and genuinely new authors to have been uncovered by the cardinal's efforts. The manuscript that he found was not, in fact, the unique source of the text—another branch of the tradition resurfaced toward the end of the fifteenth century—but it was believed to have been the unique source.¹¹⁰ Its narrow escape from destruction may have been part of its attraction. By propagating this rare book among the northern barbarians, Callistus and Hermonymus may have believed that they were participating in their own small way in the grand plan of their dead patron.



This account has been built around isolated notes and marginalia, and by collating a large number of precise dates from within a relatively short period of time. I have constructed it by examining manuscripts at the periphery of the textual tradition, such as Cantacuzenus's Herodotus, and by studying the fortunes of authors on the periphery of the canon, such as Quintus. The resulting narrative suggests that Filelfo's vacillation over his position in Milan destabilized Callistus's own position in Italy. It indicates that Callistus's decision to sell his books in Milan enabled one of the earliest Greek presses to be established there. This narrative connects the activities of Callistus, Hermonymus, and Cantacuzenus, and suggests that when these Greeks left Italy, they had a plan.

This article has proceeded in the belief that the motives of Callistus are as important an object of study

106 For the recovery and diffusion of Quintus, see Botley, *Learning Greek* (n. 2 above), 111–13. A reference to Smyrna in the poem has been taken to be autobiographical, and the epithet “Smyrnaeus” seems to have been in use by the 1460s (ibid., 229, n. 583).

107 For Merula's studies in Bologna under Callistus, see above, p. 182 and n. 6. Merula bought Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, gr. D.528 of Quintus, made by Michael Apostolis, in Ferrara in 1462: see A. Friggi, “Libri greci alla corte di Ludovico il Moro: Giorgio Merula e la sua biblioteca,” *Archivio storico lombardo* 130 (2004): 109–35, at 123.

108 Hermonymus made Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. gr. 147, perhaps in London (J. Irigoin, review of F. Vian, *Histoire de la tradition manuscrite de Quinte de Smyrne* [Paris, 1959], *REA* 62 [1960]: 484–89, at 488; F. Vian, *Quintus de Smyrne, La suite d'Homère*, vol. 1, books 1–4 [Paris, 1963], xlvii). Hermonymus made Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 166, in Paris, dated 28 June 1476, on which see above, p. 189 and n. 62.

109 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Grabe 30, fols. 100v–101v, 114v (Quintus, *Posthomerica* 9.520–22; 10.315–17; 12.62–63, 67–72; 14.93–100, 53–54, 112–14).

110 For the other branch of the tradition, see Quintus, *Posthomerica*, ed. G. Pompella (Hildesheim, 2002), ii–iv.

as his manuscripts. The position of the Greek exiles in fifteenth-century Italy had always been precarious, even for those who were numbered among the greatest scholars of their day. Bessarion's death removed one of their last resources, and the disintegration of his circle forced upon them some painful choices. Callistus's books were the tools of his trade as a teacher, they enabled his life as a scholar, and they supplied a focus for his Greek identity in exile in Italy. His decision to sell them in Milan may not have been an act of desperation, but to travel to England on the eve of its war with France in order to enter the service of a disgraced prelate was, at the very least, a calculated risk. Over the past

century, the steady accumulation of careful scholarship has brought us closer to understanding the nature of that calculation.

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